DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 040 121 SO 000 111

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TITLE	Deliberate Instruction in Non-Literate Societies.
INSTITUTION	Chicago Univ., Ill. Dept. of Anthropology.
SPONS AGENCY	National Science Foundation, Washington, D.C.
REPORT NO	RP-05
PUB DATE	64
NOTE	54p.
EDRS PRICE	EDRS Price MF-$0.25 HC-$2.80
DESCRIPTORS	Acculturation, *Anthropology, Cross Cultural Studies, Cultural Factors, Educational Experience, Educational Research, Educational Sociology, *Ethnology, Folk Culture, *Learning, Skill Development, Social Change, Social Influences, *Socialization, *Sociocultural Patterns
IDENTIFIERS	*Enculturation

ABSTRACT

The establishment of the concept "directed learning" (DL) was achieved by a comprehensive review of anthropological literature. DL is a form of deliberate enculturation, but it is distinguished from schooling by its informality. Further, schooling is not found in non-literate societies. The major problem in studying the structure and function of education in primitive societies is the dearth of detail available in the literature. New methods for analyzing the literature must be developed to answer: "Who educates? On what does the educational process focus? How is the information taught?" The author has devised diagrams of the boundaries of social interaction and of the deliberate instruction (DI) interaction pattern, a chart of the agents of DI instruction, a schedule of the teaching-learning situation-process, and other tools to aid his analysis. Two of the working hypotheses for future study are included: the structure of DL is determined by features of the instruction and the social setting; and, every society has individuals who act as teachers. (DJB)

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PROGRESS REPORT III

DELIBERATE INSTRUCTION IN NON-LITERATE SOCIETIES

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Research Paper 05
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June 1964

SO 000 111

INTRODUCTION

Professional educators and cultural anthropologists, for reasons which are implicit in their respective disciplines, have chosen strikingly different routes to the study of educational process. The former class of inquirers concerned with education study the learning process, investigate the techniques that facilitate or retard learning, and measure the results of learning and teaching. Unlike other social scientists studying learning, the educational researcher is concerned primarily with learning in an organized school system, hence much attention is given to the application of findings from psychology, sociology, and the other behavioral sciences to the educational process.

Anthropologists have resorted to a different tack: for example, Goldschmidt (1960:679), an anthropologist, states that a general treatise on primitive education has yet to be written. He summarizes further by saying that Pettitt's work, Primitive Education in North America (1946), from which the conclusions in Goldschmidt's book have been produced, deals with the formal educational processes among American Indians. Some detailed studies of the educational processes in American Indian tribes have been made, notably by Thompson and Joseph, The Hopi Way (1944), Leighton and Kluckhohn, Children of the People (1947), and Joseph, Spicer, and Chesky, The Desert People (1949). Bateson and Mead studied the informal training aspects of the Balinese, recorded in Balinese Character (1942), and Erikson studied several tribes in America from a psychoanalytic point of view and summarizes his data in Childhood and Society (1950). Mead's studies are also pertinent, particularly Growing Up in New Guinea (1930), Coming of Age in Samoa (1928), and Sex and Temperament in Three Primitive Societies (1935). She also summarizes some aspects of child

training in her Male and Female (1949). Summary statements regarding the influence of culture on the character of the individual are to be found in Linton, The Cultural Background of Personality (1945), Honigmann, Culture and Personality (1954), and Kluckhohn, Murray, and Schneider, Personality in Nature, Society, and Culture (1955).

The above assessment of the anthropological approaches to the study of ethno-education, as ably presented by Goldschmidt, provides us with a background of the traditional courses or methods of investigation pursued by anthropologists as they have viewed the aspects of culture having to do with educational process. However, new directions, aimed toward a synthesis of these widely divergent fields of study, education and anthropology, have recently been proposed by Spindler in two major works, Education and Anthropology (1955), and Education and Culture--Anthropological Approaches (1963). In the most recent volume he states, "It will become apparent, however, that anthropology has many more potentially useful concepts, approaches to the interpretation of data, and substantive information than has even begun to be utilized in applications to education" (1963:44). It is in the climate of this optimism that the following paper has been prepared.

THE GENERAL AREA OF RESEARCH[1]

In view of the lack of a general treatise on primitive education, I have proposed to review the anthropological literature and then assemble the data pertinent to the subsequent analysis of the structure and function of educational institutions in non-literate societies. Thus far the emphasis of my investigation has been primarily ethnological; the total enculturative process of each ethnographic society has been scanned, and from this body of materials I have attempted to extract all information having to do with one phase of enculturation--directed learning, or the informal acts of the teaching-learning process which are aimed at modifying the behavior of the individual.

This concerted activity is resulting in the following: (1) a comprehensive and up-to-date annotated bibliography covering the field of ethno-education; (2) a compilation of congruous extracts drawn from the anthropological literature documenting the techniques and methods of non-literate directed learning; and (3) a definitive analysis of the universals of non-literate directed learning as a part of the total enculturative process, with a view toward enhancng the awareness and understanding of the extra-school directed learning socialization phenomena as they occur in literate societies.

I have taken the position that this field (or aspect of culture which I have labelled "ethno-education") is divisable into three areas of possible investigation, and the areas delineated by the processes involved are as follows: enculturation, or the processes involved in the responses of the individual to the portions of the total culture to which he is exposed over a period of time; <u>directed learning</u>, or the processes which occur during the informal acts of teaching by other members of the society aimed at modifying the behavior of the individual;and <u>schooling</u>, or the processes accompanying

the formalized institutional activity within the society designed to impart specific bodies of information and sets of norms--norms which are attitudinized and which bracket appropriate social behavior. The first two overlapping processes, enculturation and directed learning, are found in all societies; the third process, schooling, is found only in literate societies, except for a few special non-literate groups which have been reported in the ethnographic literature.

The problems involved in attempting to describe and understand the processes of enculturation are primarily psychological and have to do with learning theory and its adjuncts, since the changes described take place in the individual subject. The problems associated with the attempts to describe and understand the processes involved in schooling are both psychological and sociological, with motivation theory and descriptions of the folkways and mores of educational institutions occupying most of the literature. The problems of defining, describing, and analyzing the area of directed learning in non-literate societies are primarily of an ethnological and sociological nature, since the processes are primarily derived from observations of the behavior of individuals interacting in small groups in non-institutionalized situations--the guidelines for behavior being provided by cultural traditions.

Thus, my aims, as stated above, are: (1) to glean from the anthropological literature all information describing, or pertaining to, the area of directed learning; (2) to organize this data into appropriate categories; (3) to analyze the data as thoroughly as is possible, using electronic computers when applicable; and (4) to abstract the universals of directed learning as they may emerge from the analysis.

OUTLINE OF THE PROBLEM[2]

Review

These notes, which originally accompanied my working bibliography,[3] are highly impressionistic, and they have been developed and recorded as I have attempted to re-acquaint myself with previously-read materials and become familiar with new sources which are related directly or indirectly to my tentative general topic: The Structure and Function of Educational Institutions in Non-Literate Societies.

Studies of this type have been deemed worthwhile throughout the years, but not always for the same reasons. Linton (1941:4) discusses the problem as follows:

> It is important to study child development by laboratory methods, but unfortunately there are limits to the utility of this technique. Infants are not decanted into the laboratory from bottles in the fashion of Aldous Huxley's Brave New World. By the time they reach the scientific investigator they have already undergone extensive conditioning along lines determined by our own culture, while this holds in even greater degree for the preschool child. Unless we have studies of individuals in other cultures and societies which we can use as a check we are likely to assume that many of the features which are actually the results of our particular patterns for dealing with children are innate and genetically determined. There is an exceedingly interesting field for research here and one with considerable practical significance. We are gradually awakening to the importance of the earliest training of all--that in feeding and sphincter control--and its effect on personality formation; it is important to know just what the effects of these and later techniques of training are upon adult character (italics mine).

I will remark upon the rationale of this study, and the limits which I have arbitrarily imposed on the scope of the investigation, in a subsequent portion of this paper.

The specific topic under consideration in this exploratory research I have

labelled "directed learning," but Herzog (1962; and personal communication) has suggested that the term "deliberate instruction" be used, and he defines the process as follows:

> By "deliberate instruction" we mean the process by which an adult, or at least a person of a senior age grade, takes a child or a group of children aside and attempts verbally to communicate to them certain ideas, skills, and facts (1962:302).

If we accept Herzog's definition, then we immediately restrict the process of deliberate instruction to educational acts by adults, or seniors, involving children, and then we must seek a term which is applicable to the teaching-learning situation-process which involves two or more adults (or seniors), unless we assume that deliberate instruction is only possible when one of the individuals involved is a child; my own opinion is that any individual can learn and habituate something--an act or an idea-throughout the entire life cycle; the ability to learn is a matter of degree and is not confined to any particular phase of the life cycle. In addition, if verbal communication is the means by which the teaching-learning situation-process is conducted (as is indicated by the above definition), it would preclude all non-verbal teaching-learning, including that which occurs particularly during the early phases of the socialization period, e.g., the acts of socialization which are emphasized as being crucial in cross-cultural studies of child-training practices. Whiting and Child (1953) report the following median ages of children at which attempts to control (by adults) are begun: weaning--two and a half years (70); anal training--two years (74); sex training--not reported; and independence training--three and a half years (93). If verbal communication is stressed, these median ages of developing infants are all prelinguistic, unless uni-directional admonitions, e.g., "stop," "don't," and "no" (and other similar linguistic cues) are viewed as symbols understood by

the infant; thus language, as a communication medium, is negligible.

This problem forces us to examine an area which anthropologists seem to have been reluctant to discuss: learning. Most anthropologists agree that culture is learned, but there is less agreement as to what forms of behavior are biologically based and subsequently modified by culture. In addition,there is very little discussion, by anthropologists, as to <u>how</u> culture is learned. Aside from those which attribute it to magic, most accounts describing the acquisition of culture by the developing individual lean heavily upon one of two major types of learning theory: (1) psychoanalytic or (2) stimulus-response. Some of the discussions of the learning of culture are eclectic and draw upon a battery of learning theories, but in the main the literary products of anthropologists do not explicitly identify the type of learning theory which is acceptable to them or which they are unknowingly using. Most of them write "All culture is learned," and then proceed to discuss cultural phenomena--and ignore learning. But learning is extremely important in at least two major areas of anthropological investigation: enculturation and acculturation.

The language of social scientists also reflects their one-sided view of a multi-faceted process. In the literature the topic headings which refer to the process of culture-acquisition by the individual are primarily individual-oriented, e.g., socialization (of the individual, by agents), <u>personality</u> (of the individual) in culture, <u>personality</u> (of the individual) and culture, psychoanalytic approaches to (the individual in) primitive cultures, <u>enculturation</u> (or the changes taking place within the individual due to social and cultural forces), <u>life cycle</u> (of the individual), and <u>autobiographies</u> of individuals who grew up in primitive or transitional societies. All of the above approaches focus primarily upon the individual, and when there is

discussion of the molding influences which originate outside the individual, the phenomena are generalized as follows: the impact of the culture upon the individual; the impingement of the society upon the individual; the pressures of the group upon the individual; and the influence of the family upon the individual.

In contrast to all of the above categories, two additional categories, (1) child-rearing practices and (2) child-training processes, reflect the social aspects of the phenomena under consideration, and the emphasis is focused primarily upon what other people do to modify the behavior of the developing individual, and if we are to understand the processes involved in deliberate instruction, we then must know (1) the particular kinds of people involved in the instruction of the child and (2) the circumstances of the social encounter. The enlarge upon this, we need to know (1) who is teaching and who is being taught (or learning), (2) what is being taught (or learned), (3) where the teaching (or learning) is taking place, (4) when the teaching (or learning) occurs, (5) why the idea, skill, or fact is being taught (or learned), and (6) how the communication is accomplished, or how the idea, skill, or fact is taught (or learned). Furthermore, if we pay attention to contemporary psychologists, we must give some attention to the problems of how an individual learns to learn (Miller and Dollard, 1941), and what specific acts of others are directed toward encouraging these capabilities.

Returning to the previously considered labels of the specific topic under consideration--"directed learning" or "deliberate instruction"--we might follow the lead of Honigmann (1963) and use the term "deliberate socialization," which he describes thusly:

> In deliberate, highly systematic socialization parents, teachers, and others hold out explicit inducements or drive home formal lessons to more or less attentive

> subjects. A factory foreman explains the machine and offers himself as a model operator for the new employee to imitate. In some schools a child is trained to inhibit agression and to recite each multiplication table unhesitatingly. At home he is scolded for failing to share a gift with his siblings. In such direct fashion individuals acquire a substantial repertory of behavior, including ways of showing emotion; attitudes to aggression, authority, and sharing; toilet habits, signals for driving, and the etiquette for serving tea, kava, or cocktails.
>
> Techniques for accomplishing such relatively direct learning vary from one social system to another and even in the same social system from one situation to another (297).

This is certainly a definition which is broad enough to include all aspects of the teaching-learning situation-process as it exists between adults and children, or adults and other adults. However, I am somewhat pessimistic and suspect that the anthropological literature contains more information pertaining to the adult-child relationship, for reasons outlined above.

Theory

Since I am refocusing my attention on that aspect of the teaching-learning situation-process which reveals "what other people do to modify the behavior of the developing individual," the basic hypotheses which have guided the proposed investigation may be stated as follows:

1. The structure of any deliberate instruction or socialization organization is determined partly by the characteristics or features of the instruction, and partly by the social setting within which it exists.

2. The structure of any reward system is determined partly by the characteristics of the deliberate instruction or socialization organization, and partly by the social setting, within limits imposed by characteristics or features of the instruction.

The terms expressed in the above hypotheses are roughly defined as follows:

Deliberate instruction or socialization--an institutionalized act or set of acts performed by an individual to modify the behavior of another individual and induce habit formation.

Organization--the personnel of the small group which is involved in the teaching-learning situation-process and the significant interaction patterns.

Characteristics or features of the instruction--what is being taught and how it is being communicated.

Social setting--a description of the time and locus of the teaching-learning situation-process in terms of the life cycles of all personnel involved and in terms of the larger cultural milieu.

Reward system--the rationale supporting the act or set of acts and the means by which the involved personnel are motivated to teach or learn in the teaching-learning situation-process.

I might generalize the above statements by indicating simply that I feel that any individual, after having acquired a portion of his culture at any point in the life cycle, will reflect behaviorally not only what has been learned and habituated, but will also reflect behaviorally how he was taught. This supposition leads one directly to a cross-cultural examination of ethno-education.

Method

The guidelines of the ongoing project are set by two sources; Murdock's Outline of Cultural Materials (1961) and Henry's article, "A Cross-Cultural Outline of Education" (1960).

The outline provided by Murdock (1961:138), under the topic "Socialization-Techniques of Inculcation," lists the following concepts:

> . . . ideas about childhood training; general methods of inculcation and discipline; specific techniques of providing motivation (e.g., inciting, warning, scolding, threatening, punishing); specific techniques of guidance (e.g., leading, demonstrating, explaining, commanding); specific techniques of providing rewards (e.g., helping, recompensing, praising); special emphasis on particular techniques (e.g., in general, at different ages, for particular types of training); consistency or inconsistency in the use of techniques; ages at which parental inculcation begins and ends; etc.

As was pointed out earlier in this paper, Murdock's outline is oriented primarily toward the infant and the child, but there are additional categories in the larger outline, e.g., transmission of cultural norms, transmission of skills, transmission of beliefs, which apply to adults as well as to children.

The major questions one must ask as the data is being reviewed are provided by Henry (1960:269-72) and are as follows:

1. On what does the educational process focus?
2. How is the information communicated (teaching methods?)
3. Who educates?
4. How does the person being educated participate? (What is his attitude?)
5. How does the educator participate? (What is his attitude?)
6. Are some things taught to some and not to others?
7. What are the discontinuities in the educational process?

8. What limits the quantity and quality of information a child receives from a teacher?
9. What forms of conduct control (discipline) are used?
10. What is the relation between the intent and the results of education?
11. What self-conceptions seem reinforced?
12. How long does the process of formal education last?

This list of questions (see above), with slight modifications, has provided a framework for a questionnaire-type trait list which I have designed and have used as I have systematically reviewed the anthropoligical literature.

Bibliography

The preliminary search for materials relevant to this study has been confined, in the main, to sources which appear in the bibliographies of previous investigators, and, as a result of my present conception of the possible areas of investigation, I have provided myself with a brief list of words which I have labelled "Key Index Words." These words are: acculturation; change, culture; culture change; education; enculturation; learning, personality, socialization; and teaching. Armed with the list, I scan the index of each book I examine, using the above words as possible keys to the contents of the book. If I discover the presence of pertinent materials in the particular volume being examined, I record the key word (or some variation) and the page number on the bibliographic card of the volume for future reference.

The supplementary bibliography[4] reflects the contents of my bibliographic card file. I have arbitrarily divided the file into three major divisions: Theory; Method; and Ethnography--the divisions roughly indicating the nature of the information I have extracted, or intend to extract, from the listed

volumes. Since this type of study is cross-disciplinary, the theory utilized will be multi-disciplinary and will reflect this by drawing from psychology, sociology, education, and anthropology, with a number of assists from the more solid framework of general scientific theory. However, the humanistic aspects of the data have not been ignored, since it is human behavior that is drawing my attention. The method of the study has been well established by previous investigators, and the ethnographic accounts listed vary in quality and emphasis. The bibliography does not include any of the sources I have examined in the Human Relations Area Files, the major source of information I am presently exploiting.

THE NATURE OF DELIBERATE INSTRUCTION[5]

Part One: The Problem Redefined

The preceding section, after pointing up the importance of the effects of early and later techniques of training upon adult character, emphasized that the details of the teaching-learning situation-process are vitally significant to the fuller understanding of the deliberate instruction concept. In order to describe and analyze the processes of enculturation and socialization as they occur in any cultural milieu, one must know, to the fullest extent possible, what other people do while attempting to modify the behavior of the developing individual. Furthermore, in order to assess the extent and degree of the influence of the instructor or teacher upon the one being taught, it is necessary to know the kinds of relationships which provide opportunities for transmitting norms, skills, and beliefs from teacher to learner.

An excellent presentation of the basic concepts which provide support for this type of study appears in a recent work by Bohannan (1963:18-19) who writes:

> Babies, being helpless, have their needs fulfilled for them. In the course of the fulfillment of these needs, the way in which the need is fulfilled comes to be almost as important as the fact of fulfillment. By the time a child is nearly adult enough to fulfill some of his own requirements for food and sleep, his habits are well established. These habits may be changed several times during the course of maturation, but even the need to change and the capacity to change are developed into habits. If it were not possible to change habits, any sort of "progress" or social change would be quite impossible.
>
> The habits that are acquired by youngsters are part of the culture in accordance with which they are brought up. In one sense, the habits are the culture: if all the habits of all the people were changed, the culture would have changed.

There are, however, two ways in which culture can be "internalized." One is by habituation and the other by purposeful education . . . .

In habituation, human beings learn those aspects of culture that are not regarded in the culture as specifically learnable techniques. In education they are taught--specifically taught--the techniques. Education is usually defined as the directed learning process, either formally or informally carried out. The purpose here is not to make a pedantic distinction between these two aspects of education--many situations of human learning cannot be specifically set out as one or the other, but partake of both. It is merely to point out that human beings learn a great deal more than is specifically taught them: people pick up habits, without questioning them, because "that's the way it is done." Yet nobody picks up reading as a habit the way he picks up a taste for wheat bread and meat instead of millet porridge and fish.

Both of these processes--habituation and education--make it possible to live in the society in which we are born or in which we find ourselves . . . . "

Education may be carried on by any number of agencies. The family is probably the most important educating agency in every society. In some societies, a part of the job is taken over by professionals when the child is about six years old. Even in societies that lack any sort of formal schooling, the family may be assisted by other elements of the society when the child reaches about this age. Sometimes children are sent to their grandparents, because grandparents are thought in that culture, for one reason or another, to be the best formal instructors during certain periods of a child's life. In other societies, a child goes to his father's sister because it is thought that the parents themselves may be so fond of the child as to be too indulgent to insist on adequate training for coping with life and society. The father's sister, the evaluation in such a society runs, is a close kinswoman and hence will be kind and proffer some affection, but she is far enough removed that she will insist on the child's continuing education to the point of being strict if it is necessary. Some societies have formalized age associations that organize children to teach younger children.

The distinction which Bohannan makes between habituation and education is certainly valid, but I would reinforce this distinction by stating that

education is a type of habituation in which the habits to be learned and which are presumably subsequently acquired by the learner are not left to chance, thus presupposing intent and deliberation on the part of the educator.

In Bohannan's terms, the educating agents, since they are the repositories and possible communicants of the culture, deserve further study, and some of the promising areas of further research are outlined by Herzog (1962:335-36) who has correlated deliberate instruction (=directed learning) with household structure cross-culturally.

In his summary remarks, Herzog suggests the following: (1) that a series of in-cultural tests of the hypotheses he has developed (deliberate instruction as related to household structure) be conducted; (2) that the "content analysis" of the subjects taught in various educational institutions be carried out to possibly distinguish the alleged differences in "atmosphere" between the types of institutions he has categorized; (3) that deliberate instruction by kin, with or without change of residence, be restudied, since this type of instruction seems to be of the variety involving the most people, and thus is the most promising projective system; and (4) that efforts should be made to devise a rating system, or a series of systems, for the interaction of mother and child during the day, since the daylight hours are virtual blanks on the cross-cultural chart at present (Herzog 1962:335-36).

All of the areas of research proposed by Herzog are contingent upon the accumulation of considerably more detail regarding deliberate instruction than appears in the anthropological literature or is readily available at present, and the generalizations which have been made about deliberate instruction by the many writers who have indicated their awareness of this particular cultural phenomenon are too broad to throw further light upon the subject.

The problem, then, as I see it, is to devise a set of methods which, when

applied to the anthropological literature describing non-literate societies (or to field situations, as well), will provide us with either old or new data, arranged in appropriate categories, which may then be analyzed to subsequently aid us in knowing in some detail (1) who instructs, (2) what is instructed, (3) when the instruction occurs, (4) where the instruction takes place, (5) why the instruction is initiated, and (6) how the instruction is accomplished--in non-literate societies. These summaries of detailed deliberate instruction may then be compared cross-culturally, replicated in-culturally, or correlated with other aspects of culture in multiple cultural settings, thus touching upon all of the problems suggested by Herzog and possibly revealing new areas of investigation.

The problem also may be assessed in terms of three of the twelve major questions asked by Henry in "A Cross-Cultural Outline of Education" (1960:267-305). These questions are: Who educates?; On what does the educational process focus?; How is the information communicated (teaching methods)? The general theme of the research design which follows concentrates primarily in the three general areas questioned above.

Neither Herzog nor Henry have limited their inquiry to the problems of deliberate instruction in non-literate societies, but I feel that the presence of writing, and the concomitant institutions which are usually associated with the teaching-learning transmission of written symbols, adds a new dimension to any culture, a dimension which masks the significance of the teaching-learning situation-process as it occurs in literate societies. It is thus assumed in this paper that the processes of deliberate instruction can best be seen in cultural situations in which all of the culture that can be taught must be transmitted without benefit of written symbols.

Part Two: The Research Design

The Life Cycle Concept

One anthropological approach to the study of deliberate instruction in non-literate societies employs a technique which has been utilized quite frequently, for other purposes, by previous investigators. In most ethnographic accounts, either descriptive or analytic, the life cycle of the individual in a culture is reported in one form or another, and this technique has served as a vehicle for conveying to the reader a perspective of the culture--sometimes its aspects and at other times its processes--which is not afforded by other tactics of reporting.

The basic assumption underlying this scheme is that each and every individual in any society (1) is born, (2) passes through various distinguishable phases of growth and development while a member of society, and (3) dies. The birth and death limits of the life spectrum of the individual are fully and completely biological, and death may occur at any point within any phase. However, the life cycle is more than a matter of biological maturation or ageing, and the intervening phases are, in the main, culturally defined by means of combinations of biological, social, and psychological phenomena and are delineated as such, with the social and psychological criteria often superceding, or at least partially re-defining, the somewhat arbitrarily assigned phases of the life cycle. Thus, social and psychological distinctions, within limits, frequently over-rule the purely biological distinctions which mark these phases.

Traditionally, the life cycle has been divided into five periods or phases: Infancy, Childhood, Adolescence, Adulthood, and Senescence (see Fig. 1). These phases are not presumed to be of equal length in time. Furthermore, the

sharpest line of demarcation between any of the phases is between childhood and adolescence--a point marked by pubescence in both the male and female human individual. All other interphase stages are highly transitional in character and vary from culture to culture, both in the definitive criteria and the time spans which qualify the sequences of phases of individual development.

The segment of the life cycle which is the focus of this investigation spans two of the traditional life cycle phases: childhood, and adolescence (see Fig. 1). In other terms, the study is primarily concerned with (1) all post-infant and pre-adult individuals in non-literate societies and (2) the experiences they undergo as they are being deliberately socialized by other members of the society.

For orientation of the reader, a crude age-phase scale might be structured as follows: birth to five/six years--infancy; five/six years to twelve/thirteen years--childhood; and twelve/thirteen years to fifteen/twenty years--adolescence. (Although I have no data to support my belief, I do not think that more than a very few societies are reluctant to assign adulthood status to its members who are beyond twenty years of age, unless there are biological, social or psychological factors which would then prohibit the individual from accepting adult status and performing adult roles.)

Obviously the above scheme does not fit all societies, and to avoid this discrepancy, those writers who employ this mode of reporting data seldom specify age brackets when discussing the life cycle concept. Havighurst (1960:109-30) provides an exception; by slightly modifying the terms and lumping portions of the traditionally defined phases together, he sets up the following categories and age brackets: Infancy and Early Childhood--Age 0-5; Middle Childhood--Age 6-11; Adolescence--Age 12-18; Early Adulthood--Age 19-30. If Havighurst's outline were to be followed in the subsequent discussion of

THE LIFE CYCLE

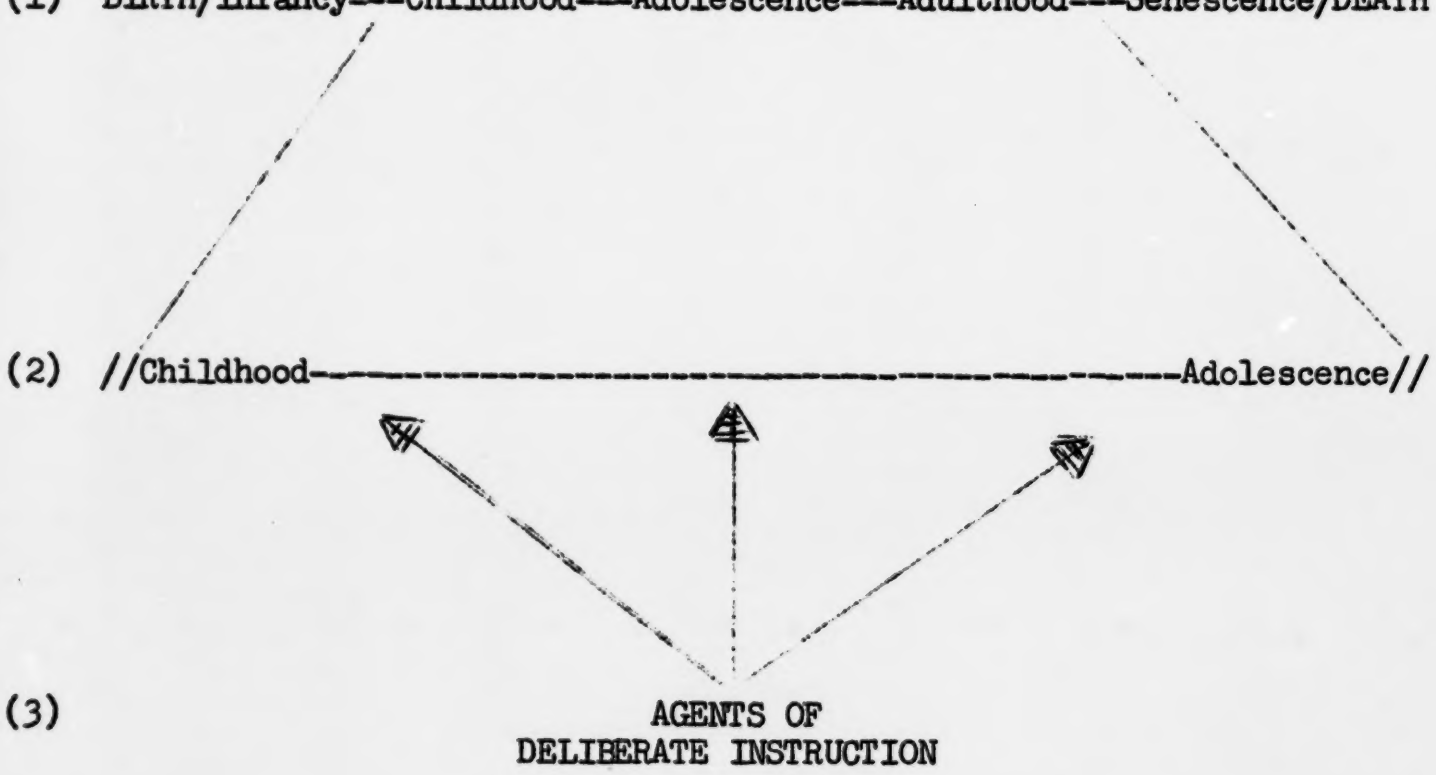


Fig. 1.--Diagrams of (1) The Life Cycle, (2) The Phases under Investigation, (3) The Agents of Deliberate Instruction, and (4) The Range of the Investigation.

the research design, middle childhood (6-11) and adolescence (12-18) would receive the maximum emphasis.

For purposes of this study and in spite of the arbitrariness which again marks the method, the earlier interphase stage, post-infant, is most easily defined by observance of the acquisition of elementary language skills; the later interphase stage, pre-adult, is considerably more difficult to delineate, for it is frequently a nebulous, ill-defined period characterized by a variety of statuses and roles, skills and attitudes. For practical purposes, then, the range of the investigation encompassed by this paper extends from the beginning of childhood through the completion of adolescence (see Fig. 1).

Agents of Deliberate Instruction

The period of development extending from early childhood through late adolescence (five through fifteen/twenty years) is a relatively long period and spans a good portion, almost one-third, of the life cycle of an individual with better-than-average longevity. Throughout this period the social nature of human life inevitably brings the developing individual into contact with other individuals, some of whom are adults, some of whom are pre-adults, and some of whom are peers. Particular members of the society, of necessity, have face-to-face contacts with Ego (a term I will henceforth use when referring to the developing individual under scrutiny). If these vis-a-vis individuals are also of the inclination to teach Ego some act or attitude (uniquely or in sets) which has not previously been learned by Ego and, in addition, encourage Ego to habituate the act or attitude, a special class of Ego-oriented associate is thus defined, the agent of deliberate instruction, or ". . . a person of senior age grade (who) takes a child or a group of children aside and attempts verbally to them certain ideas, skills, and facts" (Herzog 1962: 302).

Thus, throughout childhood and adolescence, agents of deliberate instruction are impinging upon Ego with varying degrees of influence, depending upon their status, their interacting relationships, and their rapport with Ego. The uni-directional activity of these undesignated agents of deliberate instruction is diagrammed in Fig. 1, and the scope of the investigation pursued by this paper is an attempt to describe, in some detail, the activities of these agents of deliberate instruction as they interact with Ego from early childhood through late adolescence.

The Boundaries of Social Interaction

As Ego passes through infancy and then enters childhood, the primary face-to-face contacts which have been experienced most frequently are those with various types of kin-group members. Kin-group members fall into two general classes: Adults (kin) and Pre-Adults and Age Mates (kin) (see Fig. 2). As Ego matures, the number and variety of kin-group members interacting with Ego increase as a result of a number of inter-related factors, e.g., increased awareness (Ego's), greater mobility (Ego's), additional siblings (Ego's), increasing reciprocal obligations, etc. This quantitative increase is diagrammed in Fig. 2 by the spreading lines which, in addition, set the limits of the range of possible adults (kin) and pre-adults and age-mates (kin) who might have an opportunity to interact with Ego in a teaching-learning situation.

As Ego progresses through childhood, another type of individual begins to interact with Ego. This class is made up of the non-kin-group members of the society who come into contact with Ego under varying circumstances, and the points in the time progression of Ego's development at which they begin to interact with Ego and influence Ego also vary, with exceptions, from culture to culture (see Fig. 2).

SPHERE OF INSTRUCTIONAL INFLUENCE

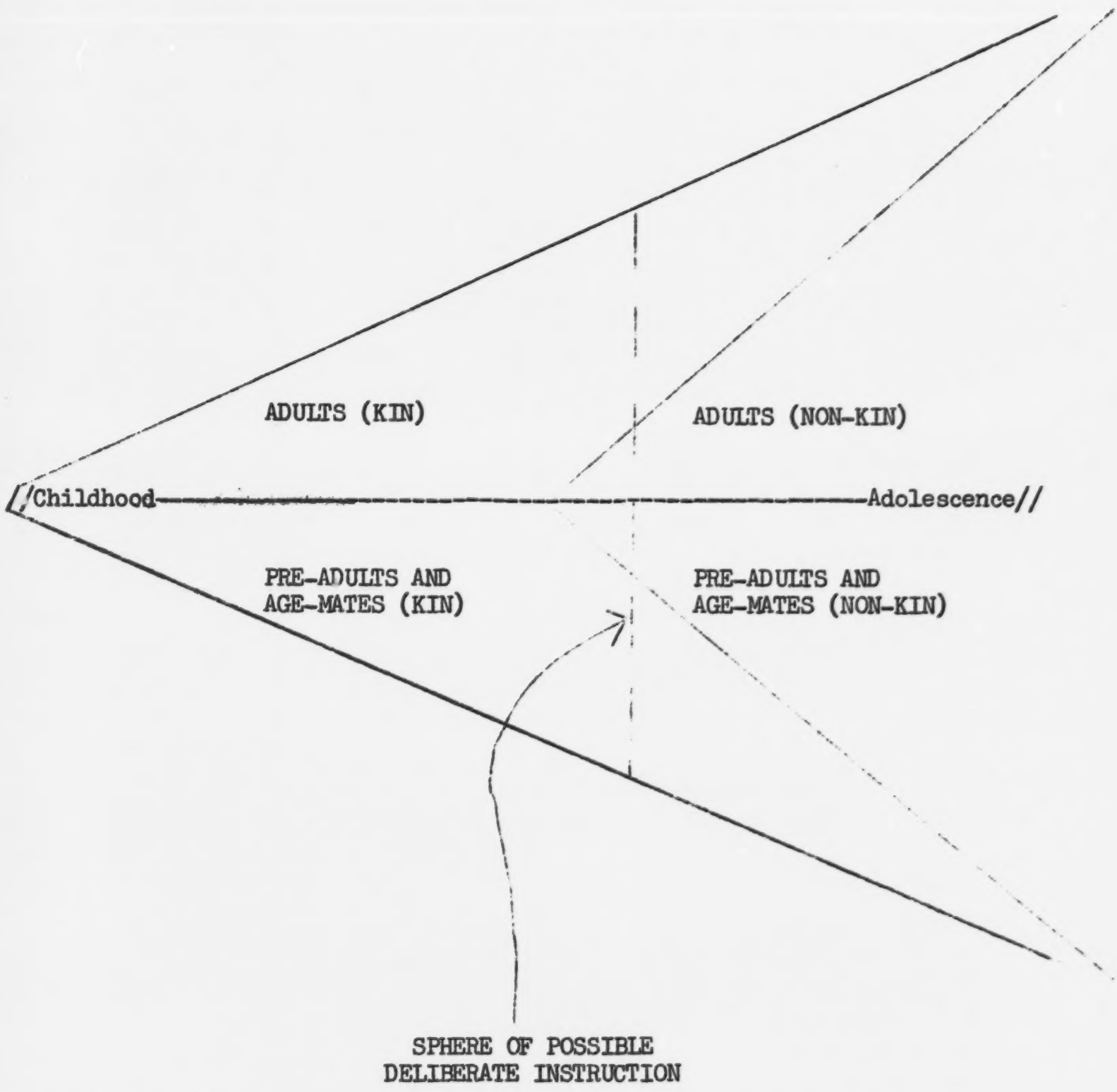


Fig. 2.--Diagram of the Boundaries of Social Interaction.

For convenience, non-kin-group members of the society may also be distinguished by subclass: Adults (non-kin) and Pre-Adults and Age-Mates (non-kin). The degree and extent of Ego's interaction with non-kin also increases, as was similarly the case with certain kin-group members, throughout Ego's maturation, as does the degree and kind of influence which non-kin-group members of the society direct manipulatively toward Ego. The spreading lines of Fig. 2 which enclose the Adults (non-kin) and the Pre-Adults and Age-Mates (non-kin) illustrate the extent of possible relationships between Ego and non-kin.

If we examine the situation in its entirety (see Fig. 2), we may state that throughout the childhood-adolescence span of Ego's life cycle there are only a limited number of people of two general classes, kin and non-kin, who are situationally able to interact with Ego. Since this limited range of people contains all of the people who, through time, might offer instruction of any type to Ego (and who, conversely, are the only people from whom Ego can learn anything either by imitation, emulation, or precept), I have labelled this concept the boundaries of social interaction, and the totality of individuals who, at any particular point in time, are of the inclination to offer deliberate instruction to Ego, I have labelled the sphere of possible deliberate instruction, for it is the behavior of the various agents of this group which is emphasized in this paper and which will subsequently receive most of the attention.

Deliberate Instruction Interaction Pattern

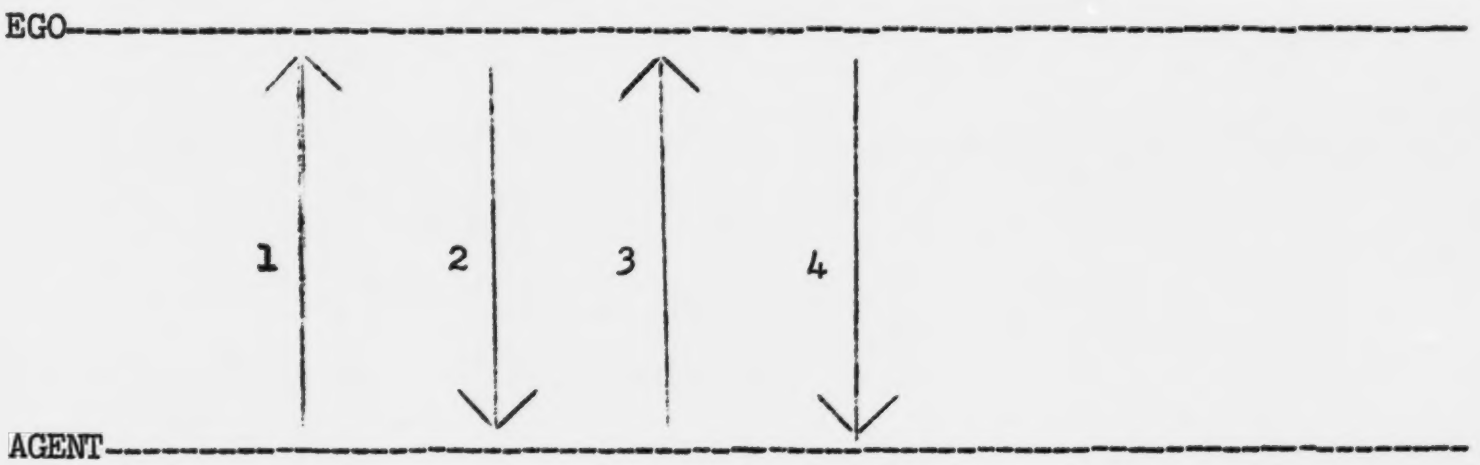
Before examining the composition of the sphere of possible deliberate instruction, it is necessary to assess the nature of the theoretical relationship which is assumed to exist between the agent of deliberate instruction and Ego. When any agent with an intent to instruct acts toward Ego, either

physically or verbally, Ego's response, also either physically or verbally and, in addition, either immediately or subsequently, is of utmost importance in the interaction sequence (see Fig. 3). Ego's response to the agent's act evokes from the agent a counter-response which is directed toward Ego, who then, in turn, reacts to the agent. The totality of acts of instruction by the agent and the counter-activity of Ego constitutes the deliberate instruction interaction pattern.

The awareness and acceptance of this concept encouraged me to set the lower limits of this study at the point in the life cycle where language skills are under Ego's control, for prior to this, all responses by Ego to any acts by the agent of deliberate instruction, either physical or verbal, would be in the form of generalized behavior and never in the form of verbal symbolization which permits linguistic communication. I am suggesting here that there is a significant qualitative difference between the pre-verbal infant and the verbal child which must be taken into account in any discussion of deliberate instruction. The acquisition of language skills is also a function of the deliberate instruction process, and as Ego gradually learns the verbal symbols of his culture, his verbal responses to acts on the part of the instructional agent provide a wider variety of cues (but in another sense a more specific set of cues) to evoke further acts, either physical or verbal, from the agent or agents of instruction. The universality of the age or period during which language skills are acquired is provided us by a linguist, who states ". . . throughout the world all physiologically normal human beings are in full control of the structures of their languages by the time they are five and a half or six years of age . . . . Children seem to learn all languages with equal facility" (Smith 1960:353).

As previously defined, the members of the society who make up or occupy

DELIBERATE INSTRUCTION INTERACTION PATTERN



1, 3 ACTS OF DELIBERATE INSTRUCTION, VERBAL OR NON-VERBAL

2, 4 RESPONSES, VERBAL OR NON-VERBAL

Fig. 3.--Diagram of the Deliberate Instruction Interaction Pattern.

the sphere of possible deliberate instruction are called the agents of deliberate instruction when they act, with deliberation and intent to instruct, toward Ego. If we re-examine Fig. 2, we see that it is possible to further subdivide the classes of kin vs. non-kin into smaller units, and this has been done in Fig. 4 (see Fig. 4).

The primary agents of deliberate instruction are mother and father, with propinquity being the major determinant. All other agents in the system are types of individuals whose relationship to Ego must be specified beyond the designatory term, e.g., grandmother may be either Ego's mother's mother or father's mother, or both, depending upon the terminological system and the residence pattern of the society of which Ego is a member; a parallel situation may involve grandfather. Sibling does not indicate the sex of the brother or sister acting as an agent; likewise the sequence of birth is not indicated. The term relative gives no details of the relationship as to degree, type, or kind.

The terms which appear in Fig. 4 needing further clarification are as follows (see Fig. 4):

Post-adult relative--any kin-group member, not otherwise designated, who is old enough to be assigned to the senescence phase of the life cycle, or more likely, any relative who is too old to be included in the generation of Ego's parents and who would then be included in the generation of Ego's grandparents.

Adult relative--any kin-group member, not otherwise designated, whose age would qualify him or her for assignment to the adult phase of the life cycle, or, more likely, any relative who would be included in the generation of Ego's parents.

Pre-adult relative--any kin-group member, not otherwise designated, who is older than Ego and is assigned to the adolescence phase of the life cycle, or, more likely, the older members of Ego's age-mate group.

Elder--any non-kin-group member, not otherwise designated, who is old enough to be included in the generation of the grandparents of Ego.

Adult--any non-kin-group member, not otherwise designated, whose age is roughly equivalent to the ages of the individuals in the parental generation of Ego.

Pre-adult--any non-kin-group member, not otherwise designated, who is older than Ego and is still included in Ego's generation.

Specialist--any individual (1) who has reached adulthood, (2) who has acquired unusual or extraordinary skills or knowledge, (3) who is socially recognized as a result of these qualities, and (4) who is called upon to instruct these qualities to other members of the society.

In summary, Fig. 4 makes distinctions by sex in only two sets of contrasts: mother-father, and grandmother-grandfather. All other contrasts are based on age and generation, except the term specialist, which has disctinctions based upon skills or knowledge; the contrasting term, non-specialist, has been omitted from the scheme.

In Fig. 4 there are, then, beyond the two parents and the four grandparents, eight major groups or sub-classes (four kin and four non-kin) whose members may possibly serve as agents of deliberate instruction. These eight major groups have been further subdivided within each group as follows: specified (by means of whatever details are available as to exact relationship

AGENTS OF DELIBERATE INSTRUCTION

CODE	KIN
MO	Mother
FA	Father
GRMO	Grandmother
GRFA	Grandfather
OSS	Older sibling (specified)
OSU	Older sibling (undesignated)
PoARS	Post-adult relative (specified)
PoARU	Post-adult relative (undesignated)
ARS	Adult relative (specified)
ARU	Adult relative (undesignated)
PrARS	Pre-adult relative (specified)
PrARU	Pre-adult relative (undesignated)

	NON-KIN
ES	Elder (specified)
EU	Elder (undesignated)
AS	Adult (specified)
AU	Adult (undesignated)
PrAS	Pre-adult (specified)
PrAU	Pre-adult (undesignated)
SS	Specialist (specified)
SU	Specialist (undesignated)

Fig. 4.--Chart of the Agents of Deliberate Instruction.

and/or sex), or undesignated, since the information which is available describing the various agents of deliberate instruction is, in some cases, quite specific, but, in other cases, exceedingly general.

The twenty categories which result from the designation of all of the above distinctions comprise the list of the agents of deliberate instruction, and each of the twenty categories has been coded along the left-hand margin of Fig. 4 for ease of reference and brevity in subsequent procedures.

Deliberate Instruction--Norms, Skills, and Beliefs

The Outline of Cultural Materials (Murdock 1961:138-39) and the Human Relations Area Files organize the data pertinent to this study as follows:

861--Techniques of Inculcation;

867--Transmission of Cultural Norms;

868--Transmission of Skills; and

869--Transmission of Beliefs.

I have continued to use this set of categories in the organization of a set of schedules designated Fig. 5, Fig. 6, and Fig. 7 (see Figures 5, 6, and 7).

Fig. 5, Deliberate Instruction--Norms, is a form which has the twenty categories of agents of deliberate instruction arrayed along the left-hand margin. The spaces in the center and on the right side of the page allow for entry, by the recorder, of (1) the topic (or subject) of the norm being instructed by the agent, and (2) the technique employed (or the agent's manner of teaching). Fig. 6, Deliberate Instruction--Skills, and Fig. 7, Deliberate Instruction--Beliefs, are structured like Fig. 5, but skills and beliefs, respectively, are substituted for norms in the Topic column.

The three schedules described above (see Figs. 5, 6, and 7) may be used for recording data extracted from the literary sources or for logging field

DELIBERATE INSTRUCTION--NORMS

AGENT	TOPIC	TECHNIQUES
K		
MO		
FA		
GRMO		
GRFA		
OSS		
OSU		
PoARS		
PoARU		
ARS		
ARU		
PrARS		
PrARU		
N-K		
ES		
EU		
AS		
AU		
PrAS		
PrAU		
SS		
SU		

Fig. 5.--Schedule of Deliberate Instruction--Norms: Agents; Topics; and Techniques.

DELIBERATE INSTRUCTION--SKILLS

AGENT	TOPIC	TECHNIQUES
K		
MO		
FA		
GRMO		
GRFA		
OSS		
OSU		
PoARS		
PoARU		
ARS		
ARU		
PrARS		
PrARU		
N-K		
ES		
EU		
AS		
AU		
PrAS		
PrAU		
SS		
SU		

Fig. 6.--Schedule of Deliberate Instruction--Skills: Agents; Topics; and Techniques.

DELIBERATE INSTRUCTION--BELIEFS

AGENT	TOPIC	TECHNIQUES
K		
MO		
FA		
GRMO		
GRFA		
OSS		
OSU		
PoARS		
PoARU		
ARS		
ARU		
PrARS		
PrARU		
N-K		
ES		
EU		
AS		
AU		
PrAS		
PrAU		
SS		
SU		

Fig. 7.--Schedule of Deliberate Instruction--Beliefs: Agents; Topics; and Techniques.

observations. These are the key records of acts of deliberate instruction from which any subsequent correlations of pertinent data may be made. Each set of three charts is thus a summary record of acts of deliberate instruction in one culture as reported by the ethnographer.

Deliberate Instruction--Consolidation

Fig. 8, labelled Deliberate Instruction--Consolidation, brings together the total number of norms, skills, and beliefs reported as having been instructed by all of the possible categories of agents. Preliminary discrimination should occur and be observable on this chart, for if there is an inequity of instruction by the various agents, there should appear, on Fig. 8, clusters of acts of deliberate instruction associated with particular agents. These clusters give an initial clue as to (1) which agents are functioning, primarily and secondarily, throughout the childhood-adolescence phase of the life cycle of the developing individual, as reported agents of deliberate instruction and (2) what qualities--norms, skills, or beliefs--these agents progressively attempt, by various means, to transmit to Ego. It must be understood that Fig. 8 does not record the totality of acts of deliberate instruction directed toward Ego in Ego's culture; Fig. 8 only records the acts of deliberate instruction as reported by the ethnographer (and is, then, a type of content analysis of the ethnographic report).

Inculcation

Fig. 9, entitled Principal Agents of Deliberate Instruction, is a further summary of the activities of the principal agents of deliberate instruction in their acts of transmitting (1) the norms of sanctioned Social Behavior, (2) the skills of the necessary Technology, (3) the beliefs supporting the

DELIBERATE INSTRUCTION--CONSOLIDATION

AGENT	NORMS	SKILLS	BELIEFS
K			
MO			
FA			
GRMO			
GRFA			
OSS			
OSU			
PoARS			
PoARU			
ARS			
ARU			
PrARS			
PrARU			
N-K			
ES			
EU			
AS			
AU			
PrAS			
PrAU			
SS			
SU			

Fig. 8.--Schedule of Deliberate Instruction--Consolidation: Agents; Norms; Skills; and Beliefs.

PRINCIPAL AGENTS OF DELIBERATE INSTRUCTION

	CHILDHOOD	ADOLESCENCE
SOCIAL BEHAVIOR		
TECHNOLOGY		
WORLD VIEW		
SPECIALIZATION		

Fig. 9.—Chart for Recording the Principal Agents of Deliberate Instruction of Social Behavior, Technology, World View, and Specialization during Childhood and Adolescence.

World View, and (4) the unusual behavioral and ideological qualities of the Specialization throughout the two phases of individual development under scrutiny, Childhood, and Adolescence. Fig. 9 should give us, at a glance, the sources of the major influences stemming from the agents of deliberate instruction which are periodically being directed toward Ego as he progresses through two of the important socialization periods (see Fig.9).

Teaching-Learning Situation-Process

Fig. 10, tentatively labelled Teaching-Learning Situation-Process, is a revision of a section of the questionnaire suggested by Henry (1960:269-72). It provides an additional opportunity for the observer or recorder or reporter of acts of deliberate instruction to register in greater detail the facets of the teaching-learning situation-process (see Fig. 10). Since Henry has gone to great lengths to provide extensive lists of terms which denote acts of instruction and possible responses, these terms may also be coded and entered in the appropriate categories for each question asked or established in Henry's article (Henry 1960:267-305). The details of Fig. 10 will be described in subsequent reports.

Deliberate instruction, as detailed above, is best understood as being (1) bi-directional, (2) interactional, (3) situational, (4) processual, and (5) social. It is not static, nor is it obviously patterned; it is an on-going, functional process which is significant in its content, aims, means, personnel, and occasion. All of these variables must be taken into account in order for deliberate instruction, as a concept, to be understood in greater detail.

Using the research design previously described, it may be possible to model the structure and reveal the function of facets of the deliberate instruction concept as manifested in a sample of non-literate cultures. In

TEACHING-LEARNING SITUATION-PROCESS

1. Subject
2. Technique
3. Personnel
4. Attitude of learner
5. Attitude of instructor
6. Omissions
7. Frequency and duration of instruction
8. Quality and quantity of instruction
9. Discipline and motivation
10. Aims and desired results
11. Influence
12. Setting
13. Time
14. Circumstances

Fig. 10.--Schedule of the Teaching-Learning Situation-Process.

working through the Human Relations Area Files, I have found that the data concerning deliberate instruction and related activities is quite uneven and sporadic, but even at this point I am sure that there are enough sources in the sample to provide a set of cases which will make the continuation of research, in the direction indicated by the research design, worthwhile.

WORKING HYPOTHESES AND PRELIMINARY FINDINGS[6]

Throughout the period of research covered by this progress report--a nine-month search for cross-cultural data pertaining to deliberate instruction in non-literate societies--one universal has consistently emerged from the data. This universal is best summarized by Cohen (1964:42-43) as follows:

> In every society, predictability in adult activities as well as predictability for children is achieved, in part, by the definition and establishment of categories of individuals who are responsible for the education of the young--kinsmen who are members of the child's descent group, kinsmen who are not members of the child's descent group, non-kinsmen, and parents. From among these categories are designated the particular kinsmen for whom the socialization of youngsters is prescribed; and the child is expected to establish his basic identification with these individuals.
>
> For example, it is often observed in reports of patrilineal societies that a man is responsible for the education of his brothers' sons in certain areas of competence, in addition to bringing up his own children. In matrilineal societies, a man is often responsible for educating his sisters' sons, and a woman her sisters' daughters, in addition to caring for their own biological offspring.
>
> The child will surely learn from and identify with other people as well; he will surely strive to emulate powerful figures outside the range of those assigned to him in his society. But in most cases, these extensions of range are in addition to the identifications necessary for the realization of the goals of the parental generation. The latter are predictable and tied to the society's institutional and value arrangements; the former are largely fortuitous and idiosyncratic.
>
> In every social system, in other words, there are institutionally prescribed paths along which the identifications of children take place, and in each society there is a governing set of guides indicating the adults with whom a child should identify. It is through such identifications that children learn where they are anchored in social space, where their social-emotional homes are, with whom their fates are inexorably bound, and who they themselves are in their socio-cultural nexuses.

If, as Cohen states, " . . . in each society there is a governing set of guides indicating the adults with whom a child should identify," then each

society should also have a set of guides defining the behavior of adults who serve as models for the child. If the adult who serves as a model is also engaged in acts of deliberate instruction, then we have established the role of the teacher (or educator, in the broadest sense) as being present in every society. In other words, <u>every society has within its social matrix specific individuals who include in their role-sets the role of teacher</u>. This is the first of my working hypotheses.

As I have slowly assessed and evaluated the cross-cultural data specifically concerning one aspect of the socialization process, deliberate instruction as it occurs in non-literate societies, I have also confined my search to data describing this particular aspect of the socialization of the child (ages 5/6 to 12/13) and the adolescent (ages 12/13 to 16/20). For some reason which is not evident in the literature, there is a tremendous quantity of data describing and discussing infant training. There is also a comparable quantity of data covering initiation ceremonies and puberty rites, but the intervening period, roughly from ages five to twelve, has received considerably less attention from anthropological investigators.

When queried directly about their observations of acts of deliberate instruction as they occurred in societies which they, as anthropologists, have studied, most anthropologists have answered with one of three stock answers: (1) "I don't know about it"; (2) "I didn't see it"; or (3) "It didn't occur in the society I studied." My own bias leads me to add that the honest answer should be, "I wasn't looking for it (deliberate instruction) as any separable or distinct cultural phenomena," and a review of my own field notes reinforced this belief. I also feel that the late childhood (ages five to nine) and pre-adolescent (ages nine-to twelve) phases are too long as developmental periods for adults in any society to be without concern for children and to

then omit acts of training or instruction during these periods.

One possible way of accounting for this anthropological oversight may be the extension of ethnocentric interests into ethnographic investigations.

The literature having to do with preadolescents in American society is also sparse. This is substantiated by Blair and Burton (1951:5) who state:

> The growth and development of children during later childhood has not been adequately studied (italics theirs). The literature in elementary education and in child psychology shows clearly that the age roughly from nine until puberty is the "forgotten" period of childhood. It is a no-man's land as far as the literature is concerned. The literature of psychology shows that a very, very large number of studies have been made of the infancy and early childhood periods. An almost equally large number of studies have been made of adolescents. Considerably more research has been made of the first three years of the elementary school period than of the last three years. A large number of studies of these various cycles of development have been thrown together in many volumes to reveal a rather accurate picture of the total development of individuals during infancy, early childhood, and adolescence. The materials thus summarized have been very valuable to parents and to professional workers in education in the guidance of children at the levels noted.
>
> No such body of material exists concerning the children from nine to twelve or in the fourth, fifth, and sixth grades in the elementary school (italics mine). Parents and teachers at this level do not have the well organized sources of information concerning the children they are rearing or teaching as do the teachers of children and youth at other levels.

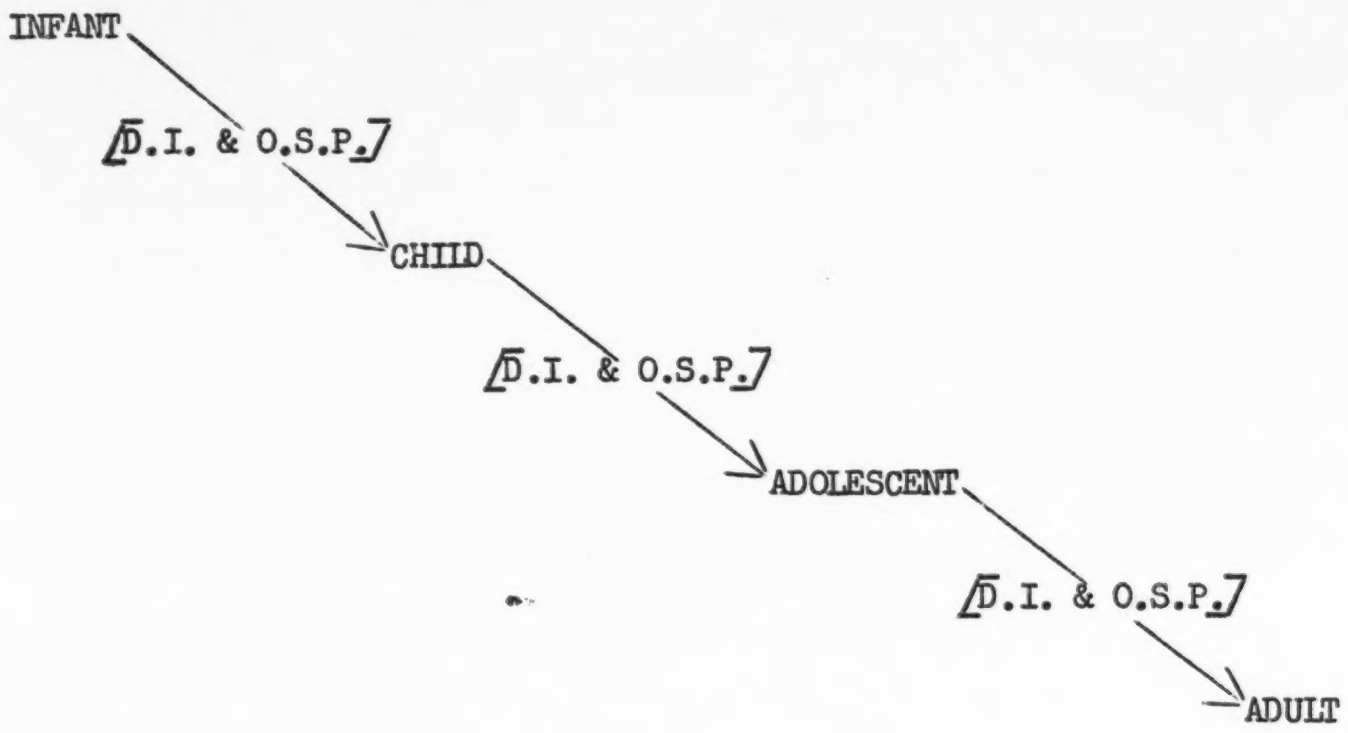
Of course one finds it difficult to explain the neglect of this developmental phase by all but a few anthropologists, but it is quite apparent that the pre-adolescent is seldom involved to any degree in the ceremonial activities, e.g., rites of passage, which have traditionally received the attention of field anthropologists.

As one surveys the available data one is impressed by the growing awareness that most discussions of socialization phenomena generalize that the

efforts of adults are usually directed toward encouraging the child to learn adult roles as soon as possible and that the agents of deliberate instruction are intent upon teaching these adult roles to children. This concept might be diagrammed as follows;

INFANT ——→ Deliberate Instruction and Other Socialization Phenomena ——→ ADULT

with aging being a constant and deliberate instruction and other socialization phenomena being independent variables. However, if the society makes distinctions between infants, children, adolescents, and adults, it is very likely that the social role of each of these phases is also relatively well defined, and we thus must modify our thinking and recognise that the efforts of adults may be directed toward encouraging (with both positive and negative sanctions) the child to learn the role of the next phase of social development about to be entered. The acts of deliberate instruction, by adults, are oriented toward teaching the new role expected of the developing individual--a role which may or may not simulate an adult role. We must thus modify the diagram of the developmental progress of the individual thusly:



with the type and kind of deliberate instruction and other socialization phenomena varying within each phase. If the phases of the life cycle of the developing individual are delineated linguistically and socially by the society, then the role expectations for each phase are unique, and the socialization processes, including deliberate instruction will vary from phase to phase. This is the second working hypothesis derived from my investigations.

The concept "deliberate instruction" may be assessed from a slightly different point of view by asking the question: How may a child learn his culture?

Four major processes--which are not mutually exclusive--seem to be the means by which an individual acquires his culture as follows:

1. Imitation or mimicry,
2. Emulation,
3. Self-instruction, and
4. Instruction from others.

For example, a child may imitate the dance steps and body movements of observed adults while still quite young. The child, after the acquisition of speech, may emulate the speech patterns of a parent. The child, by means of self-instruction, may develop certain ideosyncratic skills and acts of basic creativity. And throughout, after reaching certain levels of maturation, the child may acquire the important norms of social behavior, the special skills demanded by the technology, and the basic beliefs of the various value systems--all, or in part, transmitted by means of instruction from others, i.e., deliberate instruction.

The above examples suggest that there is a qualitative difference in the characteristics of the above-listed learning processes, and to test this I suggest that you try to imitate or emulate a belief!

If, as implied above, parts of the culture are accessible by means of

self-contained processes which may arise within the individual, i.e., imitation, emulation, and self-instruction, what parts of the culture seem to be not directly accessible to the individual and thus require instruction from others?

Some insight into this problem is provided by Hart (1963:419) as he contrasts the type of training imposed by intimates vs. strangers in selected cultures:

> This becomes pointed up still more when we remember that what is actually being taught in the initiation schools is the whole value system of the culture, its myths, its religion, its philosophy, its justification of its own entity as a culture. Primitive society clearly values these things, values them so much that it cannot leave them to individual families to pass on to the young. It is willing to trust the haphazard, individually varied teaching methods of families and households and peer groups and gossip to teach children to walk and talk, about sex, how to get along with people, or how to be a good boy; it is even willing to leave to the individual families the teaching of how to hunt or to garden or to fish or to tend cattle; but the tribal philosophy, the religion, the citizenship knowledge, too important to leave to such haphazard methods, must be taught by society at large through its appointed and responsible representatives.

The above comment indicates that there must be a qualitative difference in the methods of deliberate instruction, ranging from the admonitions of a parent to the severe trauma of initiation rites--which returns us again to a consideration of the techniques of inculcation which are utilized during the various kinds of deliberate instruction. This leads to the following supposition: Within the framework of the immediate social institution, the degree of severity or permissiveness of the techniques of inculcation is directly proportional to the amount of social control desired by the agents of deliberate instruction. This is the third working hypothesis which underlies my research.

SUMMARY

As I have worked through a minor portion of the anthropological literature, I have been overwhelmed by the number of examples of deliberate instruction which appear in the monographs and related anthropological materials. I have tried to systematically collect these examples and to also keep the examples in their proper cultural context (see Fig. 11). However, I do not at present have enough examples of the various kinds or types of reported acts of deliberate instruction to establish any patterns or trends.

In summary, I would like to restate the working hypotheses which have been developed thus far:

> The structure of any deliberate instruction or socialization organization is determined partly by the characteristics or features of the instruction, and partly by the social setting within which it exists.
>
> The structure of any reward system is determined partly by the characteristics of the deliberate instruction or socialization organization, and partly by the social setting, within limits imposed by characteristics or features of the instruction.
>
> Every society has within its social matrix specific individuals who include in their role-sets the role of teacher.
>
> If the phases of the life cycle of the developing individual are delineated linguistically and socially by the society, then the role expectations for each phase are unique, and the socialization processes, including deliberate instruction, will vary from phase to phase.
>
> Within the framework of the immediate social institution, the degree of severity or permissiveness of the techniques of inculcation in directly proportional to the amount of social control desired by the agents of deliberate instruction.

One preliminary contrast which has emerged from the data was suggested by Hart (1963) who indicated that there is a sharp difference between pre-pubertal and post-pubertal educational practices in some primitive groups, and this

contrast is in accord with my fourth working hypothesis cited above.

As the data accumulates, I am gradually being forced to modify my original aims, as a comparison of the sections of this paper attests, but I am continually reassured that "deliberate instruction" is a valid concept, a concept which may be abstracted from other related cultural phenomena and utilized as a means of approaching, with increased understanding, the processes of the transmission of culture and culture change.

DATA SHEET
NSF FELLOWSHIP NUMBER 63262
DEPARTMENT OF ANTHROPOLCGY
UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

OWC Number _____ Group _____

861 Techniques of Inculcation

867 Transmission of Cultural Norms

Fig. 11a.--Schedule for Recording Techniques of Inculcation and Related Information.

868 Transmission of Skills

869 Transmission of Beliefs

Fig. 11b.--Continuation of Schedule for Recording Techniques of Inculcation and Related Information.

87 Education

Notes and Bibliography

Fig. 11c.--Continuation of Schedule for Recording Techniques of Inculcation and Related Information.

NOTES

[1]This section is a portion of the "Activities Program" originally submitted to the National Science Foundation as part of the application for a National Science Foundation Science Faculty Fellowship.

[2]This section is a modification of "Progress Report and Working Bibliography," Research Paper 02, Department of Anthropology, The University of Chicago, December, 1963.

[3]The bibliography which was originally appended to this section has been consolidated with additional bibliographic materials and will subsequently appear as Research Paper 06.

[4]See Note No. 3.

[5]This section is a consolidation of two papers: "Progress Report II, Deliberate Instruction in Non-Literate Societies," Research Paper 04, March, 1964; and (2) "Research Design Charts," Research Paper 03, February, 1964, Department of Anthropology, The University of Chicago.

[6]This section is a portion of a paper entitled, "Techniques of Inculcation in Two Philippine Societies," presented at the annual meeting of the Central States Anthropological Society, Milwaukee, Wisconsin, May 16, 1964.

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